

the representative system, which is absolutely necessary to constitutional liberty, was seriously compromised by the election of General Taylor, and the course of conduct which the men who were placed in power by that election have hitherto pursued. But fortunately for the cause of republicanism, the people soon perceived the error which they had been induced to commit by the false professions and insidious demagogism of designing men, and perceiving that error, they promptly withdrew their confidence from the cabal which General Taylor had assembled around him on the 4th of last March. If the cause was different—if the people had not possessed the opportunity of condemning the administration in their congressional elections—of announcing to the world that the policy of General Taylor and his cabinet did not reflect the public sentiment of the United States; and that the error, which had been caused by falsehood and fraud, had been repented, and its evil effects guarded against as far as possible, by denying to the government the control of either branch of Congress, the election of General Taylor, and the events which that election has already produced, might well have been considered as the most unfortunate circumstances for representative and republican institutions which have transpired since the Congress of Vienna partitioned Europe, and the people of Europe, among its crowned members of the Holy Alliance. It almost equals the fall of Hungary, and the forcible intrusion of France in the affairs of Italy. Hungary was battling to maintain national independence against Austrian aggression, and not to defend republican institutions against the reactionary and monarchic principles of the Hungarian government. They struggled for their freedom as a nation, and not for their liberties as citizens. Had the Magyars triumphed over the combined forces of Russia and Austria, then they might have established a liberal constitution and a free government; or they might have sanctioned aristocratic institutions, and built up a Hungarian monarchy. Which course would have been pursued, no man can tell. It cannot be said that representative and republican institutions were really and practically established, and that France had become an example to the nations when Louis Napoleon's reactionary usurpations commenced—when he struck down the liberty of the press, placed Paris in a state of siege, and ordered Oudinot and his army to tread out the fires of Roman liberty. But in the United States, representative and republican institutions have been in practical and successful operation; and the eyes of the world are fixed upon us, watching the progress of our great experiment. As time rolled on, the ridicule and scorn which greeted our first essay subsided, and we came to place to other and different emotions. Respect and admiration, not unmingled with fearful forebodings, came among the crowned heads of Europe as our institutions vindicated, with the lapse of time, their title to the esteem of the world. Other nations have sought to imitate our example and win for themselves the inestimable blessings of constitutional liberty. As yet, they have achieved nothing but partial success; and our country is still first in the rank of republican governments. Any departure, therefore, from great principles of our constitution must exert a most pernicious influence, and act as a violent check on the spread of liberal principles throughout Christendom. It would be regarded by the nations as a voluntary departure from our system of government; and it would be upheld by kings and princes as a frank confession that the people are not capable of self-government, and that constitutional liberty is not a practicable thing. Crowned heads would rejoice at such an event; and they would delight to rejoice, for it would give more strength and permanency to their thrones than all their armed men and standing armies.

M. Bodisco, the Russian minister, understood his business well, when, in the name of the Czar, he congratulated General Taylor on his election, and the country on the establishment of conservatism. In much the same language as that which was used by the Czar himself, when he congratulated his generals on the fall of Hungary, and the triumph of law, order, stability, and conservatism, which he proclaimed had been so seriously endangered by Kossuth and his followers. In theory, our government belongs to the people. Public officers are their trustees and servants; and the popular will, expressed in accordance with the constitution, is the only recognised lawgiver amongst us. In order that the theory of our government may be carried out in practice, it has been the custom to require of every candidate for office to state to the people the principles upon which he would discharge his trust. If elected, and the measures which he would maintain in his representative character. It was absolutely necessary to pursue this course, in order to maintain the relation which existed between the people and their servants; so that the people, knowing the views of all those who appeared before them as candidates, could at the ballot-box give their sanction to whatever policy they wished to see adopted, and utter their condemnation of any measure which they considered impolitic and mischievous. But during the last canvass the whig party openly repudiated the former practice of the whig party, came out in favor of non-commitment—a word which had been justly considered synonymous with dishonesty—and ridiculed the time-honored and necessary custom of making an open declaration of principles, which alone makes a presidential canvass different from a personal conflict, and which alone offers to the people the opportunity of making their will felt in the executive branch of the government, which has so many and such important powers entrusted to it. General Taylor, the candidate of the whig party, concealed his views from the people, and he permitted dishonest and designing men to represent him as the advocate of one set of political principles in the North, and another in the South. Where there is no democratic policy was unpopular, he was declared to be its enemy; where it was popular, his friends asserted that he would under no circumstances compass its overthrow. He was represented to be a whig, a democrat, an independent, or a no-party man, as occasion required; while his friends demanded that the people should trust the Hero of the Rio Grande, after he was appointed by the Philadelphia Convention, without pledging himself to any forms, pledges, or principles, and on the doctrine of implicit obedience, which is at the foundation of all monarchies. The election of General Taylor under these circumstances was most unpropitious for the representative system, for it presented us to the world as having departed from the great fundamental principle on which our government was founded, and exhibited us with our Chief Magistrate who had concealed his views from the people, and could not be regarded as an exponent of the popular will, because he had made no declaration of his sentiments. He had no political history, and no political quarrels could be found in his previous life. His election, therefore, was an election without implied instructions; and he stood towards the American people in the same light that Louis Napoleon stands towards the republicans of France since he suppressed the liberty of the press, and the rights of the citizen, and sent them

of General Taylor. The monarchies of Europe, therefore, were right in regarding that election as most auspicious for them. That they did so regard it, no man who read the comments of the European press on that election and on the inaugural address of Gen. Taylor can doubt for a moment. The inaugural address was pleasing to the kings and princes of Europe, because they saw in it that General Taylor, contrary to the wishes and expectations even of those who had been duped into his support, failed to declare to the people the principles which would guide him; but, like a European monarch, vouchsafed to them only a few vague and general remarks, after the manner of a king on the opening of his parliament. Since the inauguration oath, the conduct of the administration has not forfeited the confidence which it inspired in Europe. The powers and duties of the Chief Magistrate—the most prominent REPRESENTATIVE known to our system—have been transferred to an irresponsible cabal, composed of men not selected by the people, and not responsible to them. The practice of the new dynasty has thus broken down the most prominent feature of our institutions; for those who wield the powers and disregard the duties of the presidency are not representatives of the people, but men of whom the people know nothing. And it should be borne in mind that although General Taylor refused to declare his sentiments on any question of public policy, he did promise the people that, if elected, he would not be the President of a party; he assured them that he repudiated the bitterness of party warfare, and plighted his honor, not only through his friends, but directly in his letters and in his inaugural address, that honest, capable, and faithful officers should not be driven from the public service on account of their political principles. These pledges, which Gen. Taylor, as a representative, made to his constituency—the people and the States—should have been regarded as sacred. But they were not. As soon as the cabinet was selected, the work of proscription commenced. Honest, upright, and faithful officers were driven from the public service at home, and able and efficient men were called from the public service abroad. Foreign principles could not regard this conduct in any other light than as a direct assault on them that the system of policy which had made our country prosperous and happy, and their prerogatives insecure, had fallen into disfavor in the United States, and had been abandoned. They had good reason to believe that the reactionary movement of Louis Napoleon, in crushing Roman liberty, had been foreshadowed by a reactionary movement in America in the whirl triumph which was so pleasing to the Russian minister. The recall of Mr. Bancroft from London, of Mr. Rush from France, and Mr. Clifford from Mexico, could not fail to strengthen this impression.

But, fortunately for the cause of republicanism, the spirit of the administration was developed before dishonest non-committalism had gained the control of Congress. Those who were duped into the support of General Taylor, without a declaration of his political sentiments, became alarmed as soon as the excitement of the presidential election died away. Yet they were not without hope that he would reveal his policy in his inaugural address. But they were disappointed. Then they saw that the powers and duties of the presidency had been surrendered to an irresponsible cabal, and that the counsels of federalism ruled the conduct of the cabinet. Seeing these things, the people promptly rose up to repair the error which some of them had been induced to commit by falsehood and fraud, and from Connecticut to the Rio Grande a voice was heard which announced that public confidence was withdrawn from General Taylor's administration, and that he was not a faithful representative of the public sentiment of America, but a Chief Magistrate whom the people wished to be rid of, and would be rid of if he were again a candidate before them. This prompt repudiation of the administration, and the emphatic refusal to give it the control of the legislative branch of the government, will do much to avert the untoward consequences which would have flowed from the November election. Had the case been otherwise—had the people given the control of Congress to Gen. Taylor and his cabal—the moral effects of the November election would have been more fatal to republicanism in Christendom than the treason of Louis Napoleon was to the cause of republicanism in France. We trust the people will treasure up the lesson they have been taught.

The *Republic* attempts to explain the date of the Secretary of the Treasury's letter to Messrs. Barclay and Livingston, of New York, and thus to show that there is no force in the strictures which we made in our article on the British reciprocity act. The *Republic* replies as follows:

A very few words will suffice to answer a long tirade in the Union against the Secretary of the Treasury, charging Mr. Meredith with "gross impropriety"—to call it by no harsher name—in writing a private letter to Messrs. Barclay and Livingston, of New York, informing those gentlemen, in advance, of the course which would be pursued by the Treasury Department," touching the effect of the late act of Parliament upon the navigation laws of the United States. The letter to Messrs. Barclay and Livingston was an official one, and was published in the *Intelligencer*, and was not a private letter. It was written on the 12th inst. and it was not copied for signature till after office hours. The next day some words in it were changed, when it was recopied. As soon as it got ready for the post and before it was mailed, copies were furnished for publication in the *Intelligencer*, and the *Union*. It appeared in both this paper and the *National Intelligencer*. The original was in the hands of the compositors before the copy was sealed for the post office. The letter was published by order of the Secretary himself, that all the world might know the construction given to the law of the land, simultaneously with the parties who had corresponded with the department upon the subject. This is what the *Union* calls "gross impropriety," or something worse.

We scarcely know what confidence to place in this statement of the *Republic*. We have hitherto seen it so reckless in its assertions, that we doubt the accuracy of everything it puts forth, even as "official." We have no respect for the principles or political views of the *National Intelligencer*, but we attach consequence to any fact or explanation which it puts forth as official. Not so with the minor organ. We view all its statements with suspicion. We do not consider it in that respect even as the veritable organ of the course of the executive departments. But admitting the preceding statement to be correct, what a bungling transaction does it prove to be! The copy of the letter itself was corrected, but not the date. It was mailed from Washington on the 14th, but it still bore the date of the 12th. It was published in New York on the 16th. There was no "impropriety," therefore, in the strictures which we made upon it. We state that this private letter was addressed to a mercantile firm in New York three days before the public circular was addressed to the custom-house; and we took the precaution of stating that if it was "promptly mailed," it would incur the objection which we ascribed to it. This would have been an act of "gross impropriety," as we stated it; and the date of the letter (as published) bears us out in our criticism. The error, therefore, was not in us, but in the department from which the letter emanated.

Mr. Rives.

The last New York Tribune publishes a letter from it to Paris correspondent, of the 5th inst., (received by the N. Y. Tribune, of the 10th inst.) in which it says: "The

While Truman Smith, the abolition senator from Connecticut, and the *Republic*, the minor organ of the administration, and the whole federal press North and South of Washington, with a view of influencing the elections about to take place in Louisiana and Mississippi, are harping upon the union of the democratic party in New York, and denouncing it in no measured terms, they seem to have entirely overlooked the most base and degrading coalition of their own party with the abolitionists in the State of Michigan. In order to advise our friends in those southern States where elections are about to be held, and the public generally, of the true condition of affairs, and enable them to understand the total want of sincerity and heartless hypocrisy of the federal party in their professions and practice, we might refer to the whole course of that party during the three last presidential elections. We might show the constant efforts which have been made by the whigs to obtain the floating vote of every anomalous clique which has started like a skyrocket above the horizon. We might show how anxiously they have sought every ally in every form which could swell their ranks—how eagerly they have invited the reactionaries to their arms—how insidiously they have courted the embraces of the natives—and, still more, how strongly they have attempted to affiliate with the abolitionists. Who can forget the strong and pathetic appeals which Mr. Webster made in 1854, to his friends of the "third party" in Massachusetts?—telling them how thoroughly the whigs sympathized with them in feeling, and how much the attempt to run a presidential candidate of their own was calculated to counteract their own views, to break down their common strength by a division of votes, and to elect the democratic candidate. These and a thousand other facts are recorded in our public journals; but there is one fact now before us to which we must call the public attention. We will give a brief sketch of matters as they exist in the State of Michigan.

Early in the season the abolitionists of Michigan called a State convention, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the different State offices. Thereupon the federal party of the State called their State convention, at the same place and on the same day with the abolitionists. The federalists, upon the organization of their convention, sent a committee to the abolition convention, with a proposition to unite with them and form a State ticket, with an equal division of the offices. This proposition was refused by the abolition convention; and the federalists, crestfallen and disappointed, retired from the meeting. Each party then nominated its candidates. The abolition convention nominated for governor one Flavius J. Littlejohn, who was last year at the head of the Van Buren electoral ticket of the State, who had until that year been a member of the democratic party, and so ultra and so violent in his course as a partisan, that he had been burnt in effigy by the whigs at the capital of the State. The federal convention nominated a candidate for governor by the name of John Owen, of Detroit. Mr. Owen declined the nomination.

The democratic convention, met and placed in nomination the very popular ex-Governor John S. Barry. The federalists then held another State convention, and instead of nominating a candidate for governor of their own political creed, actually took up and placed upon their ticket, with all the formality and solemnity of a nomination, the very abolition candidate, Flavius J. Littlejohn—the very man who had scorned and rejected their offered support a few weeks previous; whom they ever opprobriously burnt but a short time before. At that time it was not known that the abolition candidate would allow the federalists to use his name, or place it at the head of their ticket; but he has by some means or other become reconciled to the selection, and has consented to let the federalists vote for him. What is more, the abolition candidate for State printer, elected also by the people, has even declined in favor of the federal candidate, one of the editors of the *Detroit Advertiser*, so that the union of abolitionism and federalism in that State may be considered as nearly complete. We have been informed that this coalition (the most degrading on the part of the federal party, which we ever recollect to have seen, numerous and unholo as we have been their coalitions) was brought about by Vice President Fillmore and the abolition members of General Taylor's cabinet; that Mr. Fillmore was at Detroit in person, and advised it, and that messages and intimations, if not direct letters, were sent by Messrs. Ewing and Collamer to the same effect. The object is to defeat the democratic candidate for governor in that strong democratic State, and elect a legislature that will instruct General Cass out of his seat in the Senate of the United States, and put in his place an abolitionist of the federal school.

In case of defeat, what reward the abolition candidate for governor is to receive for allowing the whigs to vote for him, we are not advised. The fact that he will be provided for by Gen. Taylor's administration, the following precedent would seem to establish: Last year the abolitionists and federalists in the western district of Michigan united to defeat the democratic candidate for Congress. It was effected by the abolition candidate (Mr. Lawrence) withdrawing from the canvass in favor of the whig candidate, (Mr. Sprague), who was elected. Among the earliest appointments made last spring by Gen. Taylor's administration, was that of this same Mr. Lawrence, the abolition candidate for Congress, who now occupies the responsible office of chief clerk in the Patent Office in this city, at a salary of \$1,750 per annum. If declining an abolition nomination for Congress and supporting a whig will command an office of that grade under Gen. Taylor, what must the acceptance of a whig nomination for governor by an abolition candidate bring? Nothing less than a foreign mission, we presume. So gross has been this coalition, so offensive to a few of the more liberal whigs in Michigan itself, that a few of them in the county of Allegan, where Littlejohn resides, have protested against it. But the great body of the whigs of the State are laboring with great zeal to elect the "stripled-pig" candidate, and to share the offices of the State with the rankest abolitionists in the Union.

We hear no thunders of denunciation of these things from the editors of the *Republic*, or from the federal press north or south. On the contrary, the New York Tribune exults in the coalition and rejoices in the hope—and it is but a bare hope—that it may be successful, as the following extract, being the concluding portion of an editorial article upon the subject in that paper of Saturday last, will show:

The election of Flavius J. Littlejohn for governor, accompanied by a pledged free-soil legislature, would be hailed throughout the North as a death blow at slavery ex hypothesi, and as the non-interposition dogma of Cass and his associates, who indulge the hope that Michigan will be found occupying the degraded position of Iowa with respect to the "grand question" slavery, (as termed respecting the "democracy" of Livingston county, Mich.) so fraught "with the seeds of bitterness and dissension" which are already ripening into an abundant harvest of blood and misfortune to the Democratic party. The nomination of Barry was a fraud upon the free-soil party and a triumph of the non-interpositionist, as will be seen by the following remark adopted at a regular Barry free-soil meeting held in Detroit on the 11th inst., over which the staunch pro-slavery Dr. J. H. Baggs, (of the somewhat celebrated Baggs family, all thorough Cassites), presided:—

"Resolved, That we renew and reiterate the old time honored names of democracy and democracy, and reiterate every attempt to prefix to them any adjective, adverb, or other qualifier whatever as a test."

in Detroit which will no doubt be materially the election of Littlejohn. Every whig and free-soil paper published in the State (seventeen in number) cordially unite in favor of Mr. Littlejohn's election; and every whig and free-soil meeting that has been held since Littlejohn's nomination by the whig State convention, endorses his nomination also. Beside the Taylor and Van Buren vote, we trust he will receive quite a strong vote among the McClelland and Ransom lo-locos, in consequence of the rejection of the Provisional by the "Democratic" State Convention, and the passage, as the New York Evening Post has it, "of a single pulling, although less resolution on his part." Gen. Case is feared that Littlejohn and a free-soil candidate will be elected, and at the last accounts was traversing the State, it is said, by the route of the transportation, adopted at the last session of the legislature, reversed.

We are advised, however, that this statement of the Tribune about Gen. Case's traversing his State to influence the coming election is not correct. We are further advised, that the coalition of the abolition and federal parties will be utterly overthrown by the democracy of that gallant State; that Gen. Case will be sustained in the Senate, of which he is so distinguished an ornament; and that he will be found, as he ever has been, on the side of this country and the constitution, against the assaults of foes from abroad, and enemies at home.

The Republic fails as much in the character of a wag, as it does as a logician or a historian. It was not our "smartness that saved the last administration from such a blunder"—(as having two democratic papers here). The fact is, that Mr. Polk was much more aware of the danger as we were. We had no sooner stated our objections and our determination to enter into no competition with the Globe, than he stated that the proprietors of the Globe were willing to dispose of their establishment. Thus it is not true that we were "solicited (by Mr. Polk)" to come to Washington to start a paper in competition with it." If General Taylor had had the same "smartness" about him, he would have avoided the gross blunder he has committed in bringing his own editor with him. He will rue it yet—mark our prediction! Our argument is—to parody the classic phrase of the Republic—not that the present administration "made asses of themselves by inviting" this Piquette editor here, but in not cherishing the National Intelligencer as his ally—because of the superior age, dignity, reputation, tact, and experience of its editors. More youth, more spirit, and more efficiency, might have been infused into this celebrated paper; but no proposition was ever made to purchase the National Intelligencer, which its editor had estimated at twice the \$50,000 once named in the papers; and we presume no attempt was made, and we suspect could not have succeeded, to associate this editor of General Taylor in its editorial labors. But with all his fame, with all the influence of office, and with all the munitions and the jobs which he is attempting to bring up to the succor of his "little brass importation," he will not be able to supply the place of the "64-pound Paixhan," whilst these very efforts will only serve to point the one piece of artillery at the other, and finally weaken both, to recoil upon his administration.

The Foreign News.

We have devoted a large portion of our space this morning to the last foreign news. It is deeply interesting. The relations between Russia and Turkey are calculated to have great influence upon the affairs of Europe, and some, probably, upon our own relations with France and England. There is not a liberal man who does not sympathize with Turkey in the noble stand she has taken against the atrocious propositions of Russia, and who does not hope that France and England may continue to protest, in the strongest terms, against the conduct of Russia.

It is a subject of deep regret, that at this moment we have not a representative at the court of Russia, to watch her movements, and that we have not an abler diplomatist in London.

We never wish to see our government involved in European politics, yet it would send a thrill of pleasure to the heart of every American citizen if our country could interpose her good offices to protect the Hungarian patriots. As the leaders of the republican movement at Lehigh were rescued by an American ship from their Austrian hunters without compromising our neutrality obligations, nothing would gratify us more than to hear that Koseuth, Bem, and Dembinski were on board an American frigate, with the stars and stripes waving over them as their protection from the Austrian Emperor and Russian Czar.

Georgia.

Townes's majority is estimated at 3,357. His majority before Clinch at the last previous election was only 1,289. The Athens Banner says: "That there is a tie for representatives in the counties of Montgomery and Ware. The democratic in these counties was whig, and the latter democratic, in the last legislature. Until these elections shall be decided, the democrats will have a majority of four in the House, and three in the Senate—a majority on joint ballot seen."

A feeble effort is making to shake the charges which have been made against Mr. Ewing in the Douglas case. The effort is not made here, at the scene of action, where the parties live and the evidence is to be found. It is not made by either of the organs in Washington, nor by the Minister of the Interior himself, who has taken his flight to Ohio, but by anonymous scribblers in the Baltimore Patriot, Boston Atlas, and other distant papers. The effort is futile. We take back nothing of our allegation. Every syllable of the charge is true; and, if necessary, more remains to be told.

Letters have been received by the Superintendent of the Coast Survey from Lieut. Commanding McArthur, and the officers of the schooner Ewing, from San Francisco, August 29—all well. The schooner, with the land and hydrographic parties of the coast survey on board, was to sail in a few days for Oregon.

Another Excuse.

This is the secret of the exultation of the opposition. They rejoice over what they consider the probable loss of a majority in the House, because they believe it will enable them, by means of packed committees, to cover up and suppress investigation. They have no other reason to excuse it. Their majority in the Senate is sufficient to enable them to defeat any whig legislation; but a majority in the House alone will enable them to stifle inquiry, and prevent or embarrass the exposure of the gross and disgusting abuses in every branch of the public service.

[Washington Republican.]

The "Republic" will now tell us how the milk got into the coconuts, and why dumplings are boiled in coats without seams. We shall not be at all surprised to see next giving the measure of the sea serpent, pointing out how to navigate the air in balloons—or proclaiming the long sought-for secret of the northwest passage, and the way to maintain perpetual motion. We are forced to believe that if the "Republic" were sent out on a voyage of discovery to the moon, it would find little food; it will take care, and would entirely eat the disputed potato, when that planet is really made of green cheese.

[Pennsylvaniaan.]

Information has been received from the Navy Department of Mexico and California, with respects to the United States navy. He died on the 13th of Palermo, island of Sicily, on the 4th September, 1846, whilst in command of the United States Frigate Constitution.—*Union Weekly.*

NOTES FOR SALE.—Thirty Lots, situated eastwardly from the Capital of Mexico and west of the city, extending to thirty-sixth Street and first street. The owner, who resides in the Far West, is now in this city, wishing to sell them, and offering strong inducements to those desiring to acquire them at once. The lots are large and fertile, and give good location for a house at little cost; will take a low price and give quick return, if desired. This period. Apply at the Exchange Hotel, G Street. Oct 14-dtw*

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